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Stenographic Report

OF THE



Paul, Minn.

PRO-BOER

MASS-MEETING

HELD AT THE

PEOPLES CHURCH, JANUARY 6th, 1900

THOMAS R. KANE'S

Brilliant Address:

"HISTORY OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS."

From the "Daily Volkszeitung", January 10,
1900, St. Paul, Minn.

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INTRODUCTION.

The condition of affairs in South Africa and the cruel war there being waged by the British government, for the purpose of destroying the two little struggling republics, represented by the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, necessarily appeal to every liberty loving citizen of the United States. Therefore, on the 18th of December 1899, at the request of the few American citizens of Holland birth, residing in St. Paul, a call was issued to the citizens of this city, under which a committee was formed, and a mass-meeting of the citizens called to meet at the Peoples Church, on the 6th of January 1900, to enable such citizens to express their sympathy with the Boers in their present struggle. The Executive Committee represented all nationalities, all politics, and all religious beliefs in the City of St. Paul, and the speakers at the meeting, as will be seen by the names following, represented the same elements. The audience numbered between four and five thousand, filling the hall to its utmost capacity, and many were turned away. The character of the proceedings, the resolutions there adopted, follow in this pamphlet, and their consideration is asked from every fair-minded, liberty-

loving citizen of the state of Minnesota. It is hoped, that the example of the citizens of St. Paul will be followed by their fellow citizens in every city and village in the state of Minnesota, and other states of the Union, so that the people will not only have the opportunity, but will actually express their views on the subject, and in that hope this pamphlet is printed and disseminated.

THEO. F. KOCH,

Sec. Executive Comm. of pro-Boer mass-meeting.

St. Paul, Minn, Jan. 12th, 1900.



THE MEETING.

Hon. Moses E. Clapp, Chairman of the meeting, arose amid great applause, calling the meeting to order, addressed the audience as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: In calling this meeting to order, it is proper that I should state the cause which has led to this assembly, and the purpose of this gathering, and this is particularly important in view of the fact that among some of our people in this city the cause and purpose of this meeting it entirely misapprehended.

In southern Africa there are two republics, commonly known as the Boer Republics, the word "Boer" in their language meaning "farmer". These republics consist of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. They differ very slightly in their government."

(At this point Gov. Lind entered and was given an ovation.) General Clapp then resumed his address as follows:

right of franchise according to the ideas of the Salisbury ministry. Now, as I understand the fact, it formerly required 14 years of residence in the Transvaal before a man could become naturalized. This was finally reduced to 7 years, and then the Boers, rather than go to war with a great and almost irresistible power, submitted to the humiliation of changing the internal arrangement of their government at the dictation of a foreign power, and changed the term from 7 to 5 years, the length of time required in this country. (Applause).

But they say that in the Boer republics a foreigner cannot enter the upper house of its parliament. Well, my friends, under the laws of the United States no foreign born citizen can be President, and you and I have the right, if we so desire, with the rest of the people of the country, to prescribe the same qualifications and the same limitations to the office of Senator, member of the lower House of Congress, or any other office that the people of this land see fit, to apply it to.

Take the republics of South America, and in many of those republics no foreign born citizen can be either President, Senator or Judge.

Those are matters that pertain exclusively to the people who make and maintain a government, and it is not the function, nor even the right of any foreign power to dictate as to that policy. (Applause). And it must be remembered that under the English government, except by dispensation of the sovereign power, no alien can ever enter its Upper House of Parliament.

Again, they say that in the Transvaal, the Transvaalers prescribe a religious test; that a man must be a member of the State Church of the Transvaal ere he can

hold office in that country. It is within the lives of men in this audience that there was a religious test in England itself. They can recall the long and bitter struggle before that test was removed, and what right has that government to say that a policy that was pursued for centuries is cause for their interfering with the internal affairs of the Transvaal republic. (Applause).

Now, they make another charge. They say that the Transvaalers were opposed to the movement which resulted in the extinction of slavery, ignoring the fact that before their Great Trek, they solemnly declared that the government which they were going to inaugurate should contain a fundamental prescription against slavery. And we cannot forget that for over half a century, that blood hallowed flag which you and I love, waived over millions of slaves in our own fair land.

Another claim which they make is that the license imposed for removing the mineral wealth of their country is excessive. As I understand, they charge a license of 5 per cent for removing the mineral wealth from their land. While I am advised that in British Columbia the license fee is 10 per cent.

Now, what is the lesson to be drawn from this? With the history of our own progress, the awful sacrifice we made to rid ourselves of slavery, it must be recognized that a republic fresh born cannot have that complete development that the republic of a century may have, but if these people can be let alone, the government which they have established and maintained for years, twice recognized in treaty convention by the English government, will develop as rapidly as any of the other governments upon this earth.

Now, I have tried to state the alleged reasons fairly. you will say at once that they are trivial and unimportant. Certainly they are. There is not a sensible, thinking man in this land who believes that these reasons are the correct reasons for the acts of the Salisbury government. When a man gives absurd and ridiculous reasons for his acts, you have the right to assume that the reasons thus given are false.

I will tell you what, in my humble opinion, is the real reason of this war with the Boer republics. Some man, I do not know, who he is because he lacked the courage to put his signature to the paper,* has been flooding this city with an anonymous document pretending to give the reasons for the war against the Boers, and the burden of his song is that if the Boers prevail, a great republic will be established in South Africa over which the English government will have no control. (Applause). But that is not all. If we could blot from the page of earth's history the horrors and the suffering which the world has inherited from its unlawful lust for gain, we could change and brighten the page of the world's history.

Down in the Transvaal are the mines. There sits the evil genius of the hour, Cecil Rhodes, that prompted the acts of the British ministry under Salisbury and Chamberlain, and there you find the real cause of war. (Applause).

Now, it is said, and I have been told in the last few days, that it is none of our business what England does in South Africa. If so, then why this gathering, why these women, why these old men and these young, save that it is the business of humanity to enter a protest against wrong? (Applause). And when Joseph Chamberlain stood up and said the na-

tions of Europe were against him, and the sympathies of the American people were with him, he then challenged you and I as such citizens, to hold just such meetings as this, to refute his unjust and unfair accusation. (Applause). Whatever might have been urged in support of the claim that we have no business talking about the war between the English ministry and the Boer republics, the reason no longer exists, for Mr. Chamberlain has invited us to a discussion of this question, and I wish to-night that the man could be where he could gaze upon this audience.

The man evidently has forgotten history. He could not have studied human nature. He said that the nations of Europe were against him, but the sympathy of America was with him. (Applause and Laughter).

Where does the sympathy and spirit of America come from? It comes from another source. From our naturalized two sources. There are those in our midst whose ancestors over a century ago bade defiance to that same power, and laid deep and broad the foundation of our own republic, with this difference, that our ancestors were a revolted people, where the Transvaalers are existing, recognized republic. Or it must come from another source. From our naturalized citizens, and they represent the freest, the most liberty loving of the nations of the earth, and Chamberlain imagined that while those nations were against him, the people whom the spirit of freedom had prompted to leave there that they might breath the free air of America and mingle with the people whose traditions go back to the American revolution, were with him. He must have been ignorant of human nature, he must have forgotten history.

This is the most remarkable gathering ever witnessed in this city. It is remarkable in this, that creed, faith and nationality draw no line here, and no line in this audience. (Applause).

While we are all American citizens, our first duty is to America, and the history of this country shows the promptness with which that duty has ever been recognized, yet it is natural that the people of this country, born abroad, inheriting the national affiliations of other countries, should deeply sympathize with such national affiliations.

We have here to-night our Holland friends. It is natural they should be here. Oh! what a legacy is theirs in the heritage of liberty! Far back in the dawn of European history, some historian has plucked one single scene from oblivion. Upon one of the northern rivers of Europe stands a broken bridge. Upon one end of that bridge stands a Roman conqueror, backed by the legions at whose sight the world turned pale with terror. Upon the other end of that bridge stood the brave Batavian, hurling defiance at the Roman conqueror, who had behind him his invincible legions. There the picture fades from history. We know not what became of either, but the historian snatched enough from oblivion to teach us that at that time the Northman stood there ready to battle for his home, and to battle for his rights.

Twelve centuries later the Northerner and Southerner stand again face to face. The legions of Philip are hurled against the Netherlands, the invincible musketeers of Spain are sent to shoot down the Hollanders, but they meet there a resistance which was as stubborn as it was successful. They fought from year to year until fortresses and towns were tak-

en and ruined, until their country was devastated. And then, in the despair of desperation, they cut the dikes that the ocean might take back the land which centuries of toil had won, rather than that it be given to a foreign foe. (Applause).

For almost a hundred years on battered wall and splintered deck they fought. They fought until Spain was compelled to retire and nurse her baffled, sullen hate.

A few years later and the partially recuperated power of Spain bore down upon the shores of England. Every lover of liberty rejoices that they were hurled back, but every student of history must remember that before that time, the power of Spain had in part exhausted itself in the long years of warfare with the Netherlands. (Applause).

We have here our Irish friends. Ireland, crushed, her people impoverished, but her heart encouraged, never crushed, and her sons to-night will address you from this platform. (Applause).

We have here our German friends. True, Germany is still a monarchy, but we must remember that centuries ago, amid the forest fastnesses of Germany was given berth that bulwark of modern liberty, our boasted jury system. That from Germany poured forth that courage and strength that checked the growing power of the old empire, and that now, year by year, solidifying their power, the spirit of liberty permeates the German people, and to-night the sons of Germany will address you from this platform.

France, ground beneath the heel of oppression, regenerate in her modern freedom, has taken her place in the great sisterhood of republics, and to-night her sons represent her here.

We have our Scandinavian friends. They too hold a royal legacy in the heritage of freedom. Long ago, when all Europe lay shrouded in darkness, when the smouldering fires of liberty seemed but dead and dying embers, there went up from the midst of Europe a cry for help. In his home in the frozen north, Gustavus heard that cry, and like a mountain avalanche, he rushed down upon the plains of Europe.

The hords of despotism rallied beneath the banners of Wallenstein. On the field of Lützen they met. Tyrants and despots laughed, and predicted that the snow king of the north would melt beneath the fierce rays of the sun of the south. Vain and idle prediction! When the smoke of battle rolled away, victory perched upon the banners of Gustavus. On that field he yielded his life, a martyr to the cause of human liberty. But over the form of the dying king there hovered the spirit of liberty, fanning to fresh flames the smoldering embers of freedom, that by their renewed light the people of Northern Europe might maintain and persevere in their struggle for liberty, (Applause).

When this struggle between the English government and the Salisbury ministry broke out, there were Englishmen, like the great liberty loving Brice, who plead the injustice of the struggle. Unprepared for the struggle, reverses came, which have awakened a national pride among the people. But we none the less cannot flinch from our duty in expressing our sympathies to-night for the Boers in their unequal struggle.

Now, in opening this meeting with these remarks, I have trespassed upon the time of others. I know not, no one knows, what the outcome of this strug-

gle will be, but one thing is certain, the Transvaal will be drenched with blood ere the people of that land yield to a foreign foe. (Applause). Unfortunately it will be the blood of those who, are least responsible for an unjust war. When the Salisbury government, inspired by that evil genius, Cecil Rhodes, made war upon the Transvaal, it forgot one thing, it forgot that the ancestors of the Boers, 300 years ago, amid devastated fields and ruined cities, laid deep and broad the foundation of republican government. (Prolonged applause and cheering).

The chairman then introduced his Excellency, John Lind, Governor of Minnesota, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN LIND.

Governor Lind: In view of the long list of speakers that the chairman has on the table it would ill become me to occupy much of your time this evening. In fact even if I desired to occupy more time, I would feel that perhaps it could be put into better advantage if I stepped out in the street. I happened to be a little tardy, and I must say to you frankly that while this is an immense audience there is a larger audience outside this building. (Applause.)

This afternoon when my attention was called to this meeting again, over the telephone, I thought of an occasion in the house of representatives some years ago, when I had the honor to be a member of congress from this state, when a question concerning our Canadian relations was under discussion. A proposition was pending in the house to cut off the right of shipping goods in transit, that is shipping goods through the New England states

in transit from our seaboard to Canada. I am not going into a discussion of that question, but, incidentally, our state being very much interested in that discussion, I took part in it. On that occasion I used language, which I have copied from the congressional record of September 8, 1888, as follows: "But, sir, I plead not for Canada, nor for England. I hate England, or rather, I hate and despise her policy of dealing with other nations and peoples weaker than herself. Her sense of right is measured by her power to defy it, her love of justice by the gold it will fetch." (Applause.) "She enforces vice to replenish her exchequer. She enslaves and impoverishes every land and people that is caught in her toils." (Great Applause.) At that time that I uttered that language, I was told by a friend of mine that it was a little harsh, but it amused me this afternoon, when I noticed in the Record a mark in brackets, after the expression of this sentiment, "(Loud applause on the republican side.)") Applause and laughter.)

In view of what has transpired since, in view of what is in progress at this very hour in South Africa, do you believe that the judgement I then expressed is unfounded or harsh? (A voice: "No".) I do not. But, as I said, I did not come here to occupy much time; neither did I come to denounce England any further. It is my deliberate judgement, Mr. Chairman, that England to-day is more to be pitied than desecrated. It is a terrible statement, but I honestly believe that it is a true one. In making that statement, however, I do not wish to be misunderstood; I do not include the English people. No one respects the English people as such more highly than I do. And I imag-

ine that that is the feeling and that those are the sentiments of every individual in this audience. (Applause.) But when I use the language quoted I use it of and concerning the Tory element, the Tory regime, the Tory government, which, whenever it has been in control, has made the English government not only a curse to its own people but to every nation in the world with which it has come in contact. (Applause.) Yes, I say England is to be pitied. By reason of the steady and persistent pursuit of a grasping, greedy, unconscionable commercialism she has become, as a natural and necessary result, the nation that she is; a nation of paupers and millionaires. (A voice: That's right.) Why this building would hold all the farm owners in great England. (A voice: Just about.) You can count the owners of her lands by hundreds, and her tenants only by tens and tens and tens of millions. To-day she is not only denounced by right-thinking people for her present acts, but she is despised as a military power—which has been her pride in the past. (Applause.) She has absolutely lost her prestige among the nations of the world. Her own papers, her own press—

A voice: Pioneer Press. (Laughter.)

Governor Lind: I don't know whether Cecil Rhodes has seen the Pioneer Press or not. (Laughter.) Her own press, I say, is discussing seriously the question whether national decadence has finally struck England. I think Englishmen may well seriously consider that question, when you take into consideration their economic and social conditions; and further when you take into consideration that in a country almost as populous as ours—that is, relatively, (two-thirds, I believe, of the population that we have), after she

had raised a paltry thirty or forty thousand soldiers beyond her regular available standing army, she found it almost impossible to raise any more. Counties in England in order to procure the quota that the government requires, are compelled to put up bounties of from thirty to fifty thousand pounds to the county. I don't know how much they pay per capita, but I presume that they pay a large sum per capita for volunteers, whereas in our case, when the president called for troops—

A voice: He always got them.

Governor Lind: Yes. They were not only granted, but ten times as many as were wanted were tendered. (Applause.)

But I am taking up too much time. We did not come here to discuss England so much as to express our heartfelt, sincere and earnest sympathy for the noble, patriotic, self-sacrificing liberty-loving, men and women of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. (Applause.) No people in this world, my friends, have been so malignantly, so persistently, so continuously slandered and libeled, as those people during the last six to eight years: in fact ever since Cecil Rhodes concluded that he wanted to own the country as well as the gold mines and the diamond fields. It is the most revolting, the most monstrous crime of the century, when the printing presses of two continents for value received have been set to work (Applause.) to denounce, malign and abuse a people. (Great Applause.)

That is the purpose of this meeting, and in that purpose we all heartily join.

And again I want to say that I trust nothing will be said or done on this occasion by myself or by anyone else, that will have a tendency to stir up any feeling, any bitterness or any strife against the English people, or any prejudice against the English people as such

They are as blameless of this as you and I. The men to whom the preceding speaker so eloquently referred are the responsible ones. When they had inaugurated the crime, they waved the flag and appealed to an aroused patriotism, to the pride of the people, and said the flag had been insulted. The people, in their patriotic fervor to stand by the flag, rushed, as they thought, to its rescue;—just the same as they rushed to the rescue of the flag to force opium upon the Chinese. The people are not to blame. The politicians are the guilty ones.

I think perhaps there is one other matter that we ought to take cognizance of on this occasion. Perhaps it is premature, but we ought to give it some thought. For the first time in the history of our country it has been seriously suggested to us that flour, human food, food for the babes, for the children, for the women, as well as for those in the field, is contraband of war. (Applause and laughter.) Yes, my friends, flour is absolutely essential for the sustenance of the numerous English prisoners of the Transvaal! (Laughter.) And still it is seriously suggested, and apparently seriously entertained by our government, that that commodity is contraband of war. That is a very serious question to us, and that is a question that we have a right to discuss and that we have a right to express our views in regard to and that we have a right to brace up the back-bone of our government upon, if necessary. (Applause.) Why, when this nation was but a child, at the time of the Napoleonic wars, France suggested the same thing to the United States with reference to England. We did not accept the suggestion. On the contrary we collected some seven million dollars of damages

for French interference with our commerce; that indemnity was paid in what was known as the French spoliation claims, which were allowed as a part of the purchase money for the province of Louisiana. It is no satisfaction to the American merchant to say that the Englishmen will take our flour and pay for it, which is evidently the way they propose to settle it. Our commercial credit, our commercial engagements, demand that when an American citizen sells flour to a merchant in Delagoa Bay or in the Transvaal, that flour shall be delivered to the consignee. (Applause.) Upon that theory and upon that theory only, can we build up and maintain a commerce. And I say, if it should transpire that our government needs a little bracing to come to that decision, and to enforce that view, then I think that it is incumbent upon us to give them that encouragement. I thank you. (Great Applause.)

The Chairman then introduced Hon. A. R. Kiefer, Mayor of St. Paul, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. A. R. KIEFER.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

While sitting here listening to the high-minded words as spoken by gentlemen who love liberty and freedom, the thought came to me;--How encouraging it would be for Oom Paul could he look at such a gathering as this in favor of his cause. (Applause).

I did not come here this evening with any intention of making a lengthy address. I came as a citizen to listen to what the friends of a brave little nation in far off Africa have to say as to their recent struggles for freedom and liberty against one of the leading nations of the earth.

I presume, Mr. Chairman, this immense gathering is caused by a desire to express hearty sympathy for the cause of liberty and freedom; sympathy for the love of Republicanism and self-government as championed by that little nation known as the Boer Republic, in South Africa; brave and noble people who have left their native land far across the sea to settle in the wilds of South Africa, there to build up a new home with a view to bettering their conditions; to plant their fig tree, till their soil and raise their grain and thank God for the plentiful returns of their labor; to live in peace and harmony, and serve their God according to their own hearts' dictation. They were a happy, christian, God-fearing people; and indeed, would have remained so had it not been for the greed of others. (Cheers).

But, Mr. Chairman, the war is on; and, rightfully, the one whom we think to be in the right, is entitled to our sympathy in this struggle. Entitled not only to our sympathy, but the sick and wounded should receive care at our hands. The Rer Cross organization, which has of late smoothed the pillows of so many suffering patriots, should be again encouraged to extend its humane work across the seas to the fields of the contending forces in South Africa. (Applause):

A people who are ready to sacrifice all to retain their freedom and liberty; freedom to retain a government as by them formed upon the basis of the American Republic, a government of their people, by their people and for their people, is thrice entitled to the sympathy, admiration and assistance of all liberty-loving humanity. (Great Applause).

The Chairman: I now have the pleasure of introducing Health Commissioner Ohage, who will address you. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY DR. JUSTUS OHAGE.

The purpose of our meeting to-night, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, is not only to express our sympathy to that little band of heroes far off in Africa who are fighting a forlorn hope against an empire, heretofore considered the mightiest one of the world, but also as an object lesson to those in whose hands lays the political destiny of the American people; that they may understand the sentiments of the people and shape their policy according to their wishes and demands.

It is the old story over again, when man destroys man against whom he has no ill-will. The Outlanders had no complaints which could not have been rectified by their leaving. People who do not like to live under the laws of the United States need not stay here—the world is large and there are other places for them. (Laughter and Applause.)

But if the oppression and injustice to the Outlanders were as great as reported—and by the way all the reports we have come through the English channels, through London, then why is it that all the Outlanders, the Americans, the Dutch, the Germans, the Irish, the French, the Scandinavians, and quite a number of English even, are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Boers? (Applause.)

You are told England is fighting for humanity and civilization. These words in the mouth of English statemen are blasphemy and cant. (Applause.) It was English humanity which stood silently by when their Indian allies butchered our colonial troops, it was English humanity which tied the Sepoy leaders to the muzzles of the cannon and blew them to pieces, and it was English humanity which rules Ireland today without mercy, without justice, and denies her the same privileges

which she demands of the Transvaal.
(Applause.)

Fouse tells us that 2000 years ago Julius Caesar made war upon a small German tribe, slew them all and took their country. The sweeping off the earth in such manner, of a quarter of a million of human beings, even in those unscrupulous times, could not be heard without a shudder, and Cato called Caesar to account in the Roman senate. Cato died. The Roman Empire crumbled to pieces, and history tells us of her glory and of her shame.

The peace conference had barely ended at the Hague. A conference for the purpose of mitigating the horrors of war, if wars could not be prevented by arbitration. Lyddite shells and dum dum bullets were denounced by all nations represented, except by human England, and I am ashamed to say it, her trabant, the United States. English humanity makes use of both in her African war, and English humanity slaughters defenseless Boer prisoners and boasts of it, or holds them like criminals on her prison ships. English humanity stands to-day where Roman humanity stood 2000 years ago. (Applause.)

While it is true that England has advanced civilization, it has only been to her financial profit, and her contracts have been written with blood and tears. She has most liberally civilized small, weak people—on the style of the tiger and the lamb, with the lamb on the inside.
(Laughter.)

Her professed cause for war is for what she to-day denies to thousands of her own subjects at home, the right to vote, the true cause for her war is the greed of gold. Under the mask of friendship, through a press bought by British gold, disgustingly courting an alliance or sympathy from her dear American cousins,

by deceit and cotery she tries to draw us to her, and into her entanglements with other nations. She stood by us when we were fighting a seventh rate power and protected us when nobody wanted to do us harm. Next to a coward, the most disgusting thing is a brag-braggart. Had not the loud-mouthed press of England bragged and boasted so much of what all they were going to do, her defeats would not have been so humiliating, so shamefully disgracing:

Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first strike with madness. England by her arrogant and insulting treatment of others, has come to a condition of complete isolation, a bully among the nations. She has not a true friend upon the face of the earth—except perhaps Washington, D. C.. and Washington, D. C. is not the American people. (Great laughter and applause.) The people against whom she is now carrying on a war to the death, are the descendants of noble races. Their forefathers vanquished the armies of Philip of Spain, and more than once have they met the English successfully in battle. A small, heroic band, those Boers of the African republics! In number not more than the population of the Twin Cities. They enter upon this war without a boast, but with determination. No heralding of coming events—simply trust in the God of their fathers. Brave in battle, merciful to the smitten. Quick in action, respectful to the vanquished. No *vae victis* of the Romans, but tenderness to the wounded. They are fighting for their all, their liberty and their homes, Spartans in every sense of the word.

A voice: That's right.

These ladies and gentlemen, are the people that England wants to civilize. (Laughter and applause.) History ever and ever repeats itself. A period of de-

bauchery, lust, unrighteousness and moral decay always precedes the downfall of a nation. The corrupt patricians of Nero and all of their legions, fell before the uncorrupt Teutons, and the power and tyranny of Rome vanished. Nations have since risen and fallen, corruption of the masses always preceding their fall. Corruption of the rulers of the nations will drag their people along to destruction and infamy, unless aroused from their lethargy by self-sacrificing, patriotic opposition. Rome had her Cato. England had her Grand Old Man, Gladstone (Great Applause), but their advice was not heeded; they were cried down by a noisy, irresponsible minority. The best Romans were not those who followed Nero, but those who opposed him. The best Englishmen oppose this war, but they are in it, according to "destiny". England is to-day in the power of an unscrupulous, corrupt cabinet, which created this unholy war for greed and aggrandizement alone. A few men have set two noble races to war who have no grudge against one another. A few political mountebanks, arrogant and corrupt, not representing but usurping the English people, are responsible for a condition of things which staggers humanity.

Let us pray for the victory for that little band of Boers, where every man, woman or child, is a hero; let them know that the eyes of the world are on them and that every noble heart beats with them in sympathy, and let us wish that the defeat of England be for her better, for her emancipation from corrupt political and journalistic jingoism, and that she may remain in the family of nations, wiser and better than ever.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is, I think, the sentiment of most all the Germans and their descendants among you.

It is not hatred against the English people, whose good qualities we appreciate, but it is a deep, a just hatred against their jingo government and subsidized press, which has heaped insult after insult upon us, which by the meanest efforts persistently tries to cause a feeling of unfriendliness between our new and our old fatherland, which has caused some of the American people to forget a friendship which has lasted more than a century, made them forget that German blood was mixed with American blood on every battlefield under the stars and stripes. (Applause.)

We Germans are as loyal as the best, but while we love our new fatherland, we still have an affectionate spot in our heart for the old, and an insult to either we are sure to resent. But above all, the righteousness of the Boer cause, our admiration of their manly virtues, our love of liberty and freedom, makes us sympathize with them from the bottom of our hearts. And may the gods of war be with them! (Applause.)

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen: It was thought proper as a part of the program of this evening there should be a brief detailed statement of the history of this cause. That will now be presented to you by our fellow-townsmen, Mr. T. R. Kane.

Mr. Kane was received with great applause.

ADDRESS BY MR. T. R. KANE.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The world is witnessing at the present hour the saddest and most gloomy spectacle that has marred the history of centuries. Two nations, peopled by a race that in all the noblest attributes of man are as noble as

ever lived in the tide of time. have been forced through self-defence into all the horrors of modern warfare, and they have been forced there by an invader that seeks to place the standard of brute force upon a higher plane than the banner of impartial justice and the sacred obligations of international treaty and convention. (Applause.) The edict has gone forth from that nation whose processes of civilization have been written in characters of cardinal hue from Omdurman to the famine-stricken districts of India, that the presence of a free republic in South Africa is a menace to the domination of England in the Dark Continent, and that therefore two independent states, carved by the intelligence and the courage and the patriotism of their sons out of the most adverse circumstances that were ever impressed upon the children of men,—shall sink their aspirations for liberty and for independence under the iron heel of the invader and live no more except upon the fading pages of history. (Applause.)

And what adds to the sad and gloomy character of the spectacle is that a Christian civilization in every nation, empire, republic and monarchy upon the face of the earth stands idly by and, with folded arms, looks like a spectator upon this horrible spectacle without crying protest to the world's blind greed. (Applause.)

The claim has been made by England that she has undertaken this war through the stimulus of philanthropic and humanitarian motives; first, to open up the internal portions of the great continent of Africa to the progress of modern civilization and development; secondly, to grant to a portion of the citizens of the Transvaal the inestimable privilege of the elective franchise.

The Boer Republics claim that this war

is the culmination of a long and fixed determination upon the part of the English government not only to stamp out once and forever every vestige of Republican institutions in Africa, but to secure possession and control and ownership of the fabulously rich and inexhaustible gold mines of the Witwatersrand at Johannesburg. (Applause).

Long before this issue was joined upon the field of battle England has sought to prepare her case for the tribunal of public opinion. By a carefully devised and elaborate scheme of systematic falsification in reference to the characteristics and the progressiveness of the Boer races, she sought to inculcate throughout the civilized world the belief that a portion of South Africa was in the possession of a race that constituted not only an impervious barrier to the introduction of any further civilization, but that they were a constant menace and a threatening danger to the civilization that already existed there. After the war was opened this case was presented to the world at large by every suggestion that skilful diplomacy could suggest and by every means and methods that a perverted journalism could execute. Through the multitudinous tongues of the associated press, as well as through every other means that the capital and the power of England controlled, this case was presented to the public at large; while the Transvaal, with the impassable sands of Africa on one side and the cordon of British ships on the other, had to state her case to the world through the British censorship of Durban or Cape Colony or remain silent as to the justice of her cause. (Applause.)

England, however, for once reckoned without her host. She had overlooked the fact that truth and international justice could not be smothered in the sands of Central Africa even when surrounded

by the embattled bayonets of the British power. (Applause.) She had forgotten that the Boer races had lived and acted imperishable history before she had established her censorship at Durban. (Applause.) She has yet to learn that the story of this tragic struggle will be written in letters of gold upon the brightest pages of human history long after the British censorship has faded from South Africa. (Applause.)

Now, in the brief space of time allotted to me I shall endeavor to prove to that portion of the American people represented by this magnificent audience not only that the claims of the Boer Republics as to the causes leading up to that war were true in spirit as well as in fact, but I will go further than that and I will prove out of the mouth of Joseph Chamberlain himself, in his admissions before the English parliament, that the war in which England is now engaged can in no way be fitly characterized than as a war of national immorality. (Applause.)

More than 250 years have passed since the ancestors of the Dutch Republics settled in South Africa. They sprang from the Holland immigrants and the French Huguenots that were placed there in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company; and I will beg my audience to be a little lenient with me while I go over dry historical facts, because I will be as brief as possible, and I feel that this audience here tonight, or a great portion of them, desire to hear the historical truth of the Boer side of this question. (Applause.)

After the landing of the immigrants on the Southern portion of Cape Colony, in the control of the Dutch East India Company, a portion of those inhabitants remained on the coast. They were the merchant princes of that hour, dealing in the vast trade between India and Europe.

Another portion of them strayed into the interior of Africa and became the frontiersmen of that continent. Those who went into the interior left the touch of civilization and the outside world, but what they lost in the effete manners and the luxurious customs of a growing civilization they made up in vigor of manly independence and love of liberty. (Applause.) During all the period of their existence there and in their constant fight with hostile tribes, with the adverse circumstances that surrounded them in that land of plagues and calamities, they at various times gave evidence of that intrepidity and that courage that has later been exhibited upon wider fields of action.

Now, it must be remembered that aside from the fringe of piratical states in the northern part of Africa and perhaps the Valley of the Nile, that continent is one vast, trackless desert and arid plain. A territory of three thousand miles long and two thousand miles broad lies burning and baking under the unrelenting rays of a tropic sun from year to year, only visited occasionally by swarms of locust, with hot winds and storms of sand that are fatal alike to man and beast. Over this territory there roam with ceaseless activity and promiscuity roaming bands of Basutos and Hottentots and Zulus and Kaffirs, engaged in the eternal struggle of predatory warfare with the only end and aim of robbery and total extinction. It seems, indeed, as if the providential curse had fallen upon this unhappy land with direst effect. So true is this, that the nations of the world for untold centuries have allowed this continent to remain a sealed book to civilization. The nations of the world knew that the profits and the emoluments that all the genius and all the industry of men could wring from the arid plain of Central Africa

would never pay for the ordeals and the trials and the dangers of exploring and subjugating it. And indeed it may be said that until a comparatively late period in the world's history the nations of the world had by tacit consent agreed that this "dark continent" was intended by Providence as the eternal and unchanging resting-place of the unfortunate descendants of Noah's undutiful son. And this description of Central Africa is supported by the authority of the most eminent explorers and geographical writers of the age. And I make this explanation in answer to the claim made by England that one of her philanthropic purposes in carrying on this war is to open up that arid clime to progress and to civilization! (Applause.) She can hardly expect to introduce a better civilization there than she has in the fertile vales of India, where her citizens by the millions today are starving and crying in anguish, from Lucknow to Brahmaputra and from their to Calcutta.

Now over the many difficulties and obstacles that I have described in that continent, the intrepid courage, the industry, the strict frugality of the Boer races to a certain extent triumphed. And it may be said in relation to those races that the children of the Boers, of the Dutch inhabitants of Cape Colony, are the only people of the Caucasian race that have ever been enabled to maintain themselves in the hinterland of Central Africa. (Applause). For a period of 150 years after landing at Cape Colony they lived in peace and contentment until through the fortunes of war, in 1806 Cape Colony was transferred to British ownership; and with it it brought all the degradation and all the shame and all the humiliation which a proud spirit feels when he is transferred like a chattel from one master to the

other. The Dutch inhabitants of South Africa refused to accept the conditions imposed upon them by their new task-masters. Year after year of dissension passed by. No protection was given to the Boer from the rage of border tribes. His language was changed; his courts were changed; he had no schools; and in 1836, after taking the opinion of the most eminent legal jurists in Europe and in England as to their right to expatriate themselves from English territory, there commenced the greatest migration that has ever been recorded in history and has been referred to as the Boer "trek" of 1836. At that time over ten thousand men with their families, in one body, expatriated themselves from the territorial limits of British possessions, and going forth into the wilds of South-eastern Africa to make new homes in a new country, they spread out over the territory that now constitutes the Orange Free State. (Applause.)

Shortly after taking possession of the Orange Free State, in order to destroy a powerful native chieftain, who made a living by assassination and public robbery of the Boers, they descended upon the territory of Natal, and after a war with Dirgan the great chieftain of that place, they destroyed his tribe and took possession of Natal and established in South Africa its first republic—the Republic of Natalia.

So long as the Boer races continued to fight and to be decimated by the hostility of internal tribes and hordes, England looked upon her expatriated citizens with indifference and contempt and carelessness. But the moment that the Republic of Natalia was established upon the sea-coast, with a flag of independence staring England in the face, without cause or provocation that has ever been assigned in history, she sent her fleet and her

troops and, after a battle with the Boers, again conquered them and proclaimed her sovereignty over all the territory of the Orange Free State. (Applause.)

Now our immigrants who had been chased from their homes once, who had gone into the wilds of a new country in order to obtain their liberty at the expense of the dangers of that migration, were reduced to the alternative of doing either one thing or the other: either accepting again the yoke of the conquerer, or taking up the burdens of life anew and exploring some other portion of Central Africa. But the intrepid spirit that, as my friends here have said, held at bay for twenty years the power of Spain and Europe behind the dikes of Holland, triumphed over the life of ease and the Boer again taking up the burden of his song, leaves the Orange Free State and transports himself by a second "trek" across the Vaal River into the territory now known as the Transvaal. (Applause.)

The Boer was now driven to the internal portions of Africa, and he still carried with him his eternal dislike and contempt for what he considered British or English duplicity and wrong. For a period of three or four or more years he continued to have trouble with the interior and with the coast authorities; and at that time—whether it was because the territory he occupied was considered worthless or that in course of time his race would be decimated by the hostile tribes—we will grant it was prompted by a just motive—England performed the first act of justice that had characterized her conduct towards the Dutch colonists since they came into her possession. In 1852, at the Sand River Convention, the Transvaal Republic's independence was recognized, not only by England but by all the first-class nations of Europe; and

the Secretary of State of the United States of America sent a letter of congratulation to the president of the Transvaal Republic. (Applause.)

Now the Boer had secured what he had long contended for so well. He was entitled as an independent nation to sit at the council table of nations as an independent state, but his heritage was a barren one. In the isolation of his inland position, without an outlet of his own to the sea, and being then (as to-day) dependent upon the outside world for almost every article that goes into the consumption of life and the necessities of life, he had to import what was necessary to live upon through the maritime ports of Great Britain—through New London, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Cape Town; and the duties, the ad valorem duties, the postal duties, the trade tariffs that were levied upon every article that entered into the Transvaal or the Orange Free State made it a burden intolerable and unendurable to the Boer. (Applause.)

For a period of twenty-five years this condition lasted, until the year 1877. During all that time the merchant princes of the maritime ports became rich and opulent, and during all that time the poor farmer on the African veldt became poorer and poorer.

At that time two historical incidents occurred that exhibit in a remarkable and emphatic degree the disregard which England has for the sacred character of treaty obligations in dealing with a nation unable to protect its rights and its interests. (Applause.) At that time there was discovered in what is known as Griqualand West, a portion of the Orange Free State, the magnificent diamond mines upon which Kimberly stands today. Immediately upon that discovery England claimed it by territorial right. The Or-

Orange Free State considered that it was hers, as well as the capital in which her Volksraad met, but in order to escape destruction by a contest with such a superior power, the Orange Free State had to cede those diamond mines to England for the paltry compensation of ninety thousand pounds. And if there is an English sympathizer here that tells me that was a disputed territory as a historical fact I say you are mistaken. If that territory was England's territory and she knew it, she would not have paid the Orange Free State ninety thousand pounds for it (applause); and if it was not her territory it was not honorable or just or right that she should compel the infant republic to cede it to her for that inadequate price. (Applause.) Now, the diamond mines from that day to this—almost thirty years—have brought to English capitalists and to English pockets an annual revenue of thirty millions of dollars.

But there is another. At this time the Transvaal State had arrived, by the extortionate charges upon everything that was introduced into the colony, at the verge of financial desperation. She decided at that time to redeem herself from that intolerable condition by building a railroad from Pretoria, her capital, to Lorenzo Marquez or Delagoa Bay, as a shorter route to the seaboard and a route over which she would have fairer treatment in the importation of what was necessary for both republics. Immediately upon the commencement of that enterprise Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the representative of England, appeared in the Transvaal, and with no provocation, with no reason that has been given in history to the present day except the poverty and weakness of the victim, he proclaimed again the Transvaal a portion of her ma-

jesty's dominion and an English colony. (Applause.) This act was accompanied by the hypocritical cant of humanitarian motives that always characterizes her transactions. The reason she gave to the world for claiming the Transvaal as a portion of her territory in 1877 was that the impoverished condition in which the Transvaal then stood made it a lasting temptation to the tribes of interior Africa to swoop down upon her, and that England put out her wing and gathered her in to protect her. (Laughter and Applause.) The old story of the owl gathering in the chicken to protect it from the hawk! (Laughter.) The same thing.

The real cause of this act of international vandalism was England's desire to prevent the construction of the Delagoa Bay Railroad and preserve to her ports in Cape Colony an absolute monopoly of the growing trade of the Young Republics. Now, the Transvaal citizens petitioned. They wanted the restoration of their independence. Independence would not be given to them. The long, patient, persevering spirit of the Boer at last ceased to be patient, and with one accord the population of the Transvaal sprang to arms in defence of the liberty and the independence of their country, and on the historic field of Majuba Hill they forced England to leave. (Tremendous applause and cheers.) Upon that field they forced England to recognize the fact that it is possible for a people to be poor and proud and still independent. (Applause.) Happily for the spirit of liberty and for humanity the destiny of England at that time was presided over by the greatest statesman that had existed since the days of Edmund Burke, and that was William E. Gladstone. (Great Applause.) Under his influence a treaty of peace was signed in 1881 res-

toring to the Transvaal her independence. But in that treaty, both in the preamble and in the body of the treaty, there was what was known as the rights of suzerainty reserved to her majesty the queen. (Laughter.) That treaty of 1881 was never affirmed by the Volksraad or by the Transvaal Republic. But in 1883 a commission was sent from Pretoria to London and, if I am not mistaken, the present president of the Transvaal Republic and General Joubert were parties to that commission that went to London. (A voice: That's right.) They brought with them a new treaty that was to be substituted for the treaty of 1881, and in that treaty they desired that the clause reserving suzerainty to her majesty should be stricken out. When they went to England and when the convention met it was the hand of the English commissioner, Lord Derby, that struck out from the convention or treaty of 1884 all claims in reference to suzerainty, and the commissioners of the Transvaal returned to their native home, happy in the possession of independence, again among the family of nations, with—and I emphasize these terms—with absolute, unqualified, unlimited and complete control over all of their internal affairs. (Applause.)

Now we come to a more interesting period. Now we come to the consideration of one of the arch-conspirators in this magnificent drama of national annihilation, as it were. Now is the time we call upon Joseph Chamberlain (hisses in the back part of the building,) the secretary of the colonies, to stand forth and answer the questions of an aroused public opinion. Recognizing Mr. Chamberlain—recognizing the sacred character of the treaty of 1884, by what right did you demand to interfere in the internal manage-

ment of the Transvaal? By what authority did you or the nation that you represent seek to enforce your demands by violence and by force? What canon of international morality? What barrier to the advancement of a Christian civilization had these races of the two independent republics made that the self-constituted champion of a growing civilization or an advanced civilization such as England, should cast aside the sacred treaty rights of 1884 and destroy the republics if their demands were not granted?

But I will go further with Mr. Chamberlain. Conceding that you had a right to make the demands, what demands have you made from these republics that have not been granted? You asked for a diminishment of the term of the elective franchise, and it was granted—first from fourteen to seven years, and next from seven years to five. You asked that an arbitration committee be appointed to settle the difficulties between your country and the Transvaal, and it was conceded. You asked that English be spoken in the public schools, and it was conceded. You asked that English be spoken in the Volksraad, and it was conceded. You asked that the method of choosing their judiciary be changed from an appointive to an elective one, and it was conceded. And then when your diplomacy had become exhausted in fabricating new demands, the aged president of the Republic in an anxiety to save his people, said in the most pathetic accents that were ever uttered by the lips of man, “You can have all—all—all except independence.” (Cheers and applause.) When this statement was made by the President of the Transvaal what answer was returned by humanitarian England? The answer, too churlish and insolent to find a place

even in English diplomatic correspondence, that was hurled back at that Republic was, "You are not an independent state, but a vassal, and a rebellious vassal, of her majesty the queen." (Mingled hisses and applause.)

Now I want to say that Mr. Chamberlain had no right to make any demands. I stated in opening this case that I would prove by Mr. Chamberlain's own admissions before parliament that he had no right, and I shall proceed to do so. (Referring to papers on the table.)

In 1896, after what is known as the Jameson raid (hisses), the following statement was made by the Secretary of the colonies in the English parliament. Certain demands had been made upon the president of the Transvaal Republic, which he had refused, and Mr. Chamberlain speaking on the subject says as follows: .

"I do not say that under the terms of the convention (and that was the convention or treaty of 1884; no other convention existed at that time)—"I do not say that under the terms of the convention we are entitled to force reforms on President Kruger, but we are entitled to give him friendly counsel. If this friendly counsel is not well received, there was not the slightest intention on the part of her majesty's government to press it. I am perfectly willing to withdraw it and to seek a different solution if it should not prove acceptable to the president." Now watch this: "The righteousness of our action under the convention was limited to the offering of friendly counsel, in the rejection of which, if it is not accepted, we must be quite willing to acquiesce." (Laughter.)

That was the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain in 1896 before he had his last closeting experience with the Warren Hastings

of South Africa—Mr. Cecil Rhodes. (Applause.)

Further, I want to read another statement from Mr. Chamberlain before the English parliament: "In some quarters the idea is put forward that the government ought to have issued an ultimatum to President Kruger--an ultimatum which would certainly have been rejected and which must have led to war. Sir, I do not propose to discuss such a contingency as that. A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could be possibly waged." He has learned since that it is. (Great Applause.) "It would be in the nature of a civil war; it would be a long war, a costly war, a bitter war. To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of the State, in which secretaries of state standing in this place have repudiated all right of interference on our part, that would be a course of action as immoral as it would be unwise." (Applause.)

If in 1896, when the Transvaal and the Transvaal president, had refused to concede any of the demands of Great Britain,—if at that time it would have been immoral to force a war upon them, what is it to-day to force a war upon him when he has conceded every demand that was made? (Applause.)

I say, fellow citizens,—and I repeat the statement of the gentleman before me,—that I am not making a direct charge upon the individual character of an Englishman, but the policy that his nation pursues; than an intelligent world cannot be deceived by this hypocritical, magic-lantern show of Mr. Chamberlain as to the causes of this war. We will tear aside the pictures on the wall and behind that you will see around the round-table of British knighthood Cecil Rhodes sitting

at the head, Chamberlain at the foot, and around it the grinning profligate aristocracy who sold the prestige of their polluted titles for ten thousand pounds apiece to Ernest Hooley in his dishonest, embezzling transactions in London. (Laughter and applause.)

"Ah but," said Mr. Chamberlain, "behind all this and above the sacred terms of treaty rights there is the English love for an advancing civilization." (Laughter) Yes! A race of people who lived in Africa 250 years, who opened up and developed and made Cape Colony what it is to-day; who opened up the Orange Free State and made it what it is to-day; who opened up the Transvaal and made it what it is to-day; a people that have their schools and their churches and their courts and their soldiers and their statesmen; a people honest in their home life and with their fellowmen; a people faithful in their home, hospitable to the stranger that goes through their land,—I say people of that character, loving their home as they do and revering their Bible and their Bible teachings, are not badly in need of the civilization that can be brought there by the hosts of Lord Roberts of Waterford and Kandahar. (Applause.)

Now we will come to a further statement of Mr. Chamberlain. The tune has changed now. In 1896 the Transvaal Republic was a free state; and no matter what the management of her internal affairs might have been, England was only entitled, according to his opinion, to offer her friendly counsel. Now the English nation has handed forth to the world as one of the reasons of this war the fact that certain citizens of the Transvaal were denied the right of representation in the Volksraad and in other representa-

tions. Now wait--no matter how skillful the diplomacy may be, in a long drawn out history of negotiation, the truth will come out--the truth will come out,—and I want to read this statement of Mr. Chamberlain made before the war commenced, and let the American people as a jury decide whether or not it was avariciousness and cupidity that was the prime motive of this war or humanitarian purposes to open up Central Africa to trade and development. This is from the speech delivered by Mr. Chamberlain in parliament, last October and reported in the New York World on the 20th: “Great Britain must remain the paramount power in South Africa. I do not mean paramount in the German and Portuguese possessions.” No, they never mean paramount where they are brought into connection with a power like Germany that can protect her rights, (Applause.) I do not mean paramount in the German and Portuguese possessions, but in the two republics and the British colonies.” England wanted, before the treaty had been broken, to be paramount in a republic that was independent before the civilized world in all respects as well as she was, and yet the Secretary of the Colonies for England wanted England to be paramount in that republic! Listen! “The whole object of the Boers has been to oust the Queen from her position as suzerain.” The Queen was ousted from her position as suzerain by the hand of Lord Derby when he struck from the convention of 1884 the clause containing the suzerainty. (Applause.)

Further—and let the American people, the descendants of Washington and of Jefferson and of Jackson and of Lincoln, ponder upon this statement, and then say

whether or not the moral sympathy and support of this republic goes out to England in her present war: "The Transvaal and the Free State have an ideal which is dangerous to Great Britain." (Laughter) The Transvaal and the Orange Free State have an ideal of republican institutions and republics, and the Orange Free State is the only nation in the civilized world to-day that has copied verbatim for its organic law the constitution of the United States of America. (Great Applause.) And yet that ideal is a menace to Great Britain!

Now we have got the key to this situation. The mask has been torn off. We have shown the history of the Boer race. In all their trials and troubles were they ever known to be robbers? Were they ever known to be revolutionists? Were they ever known to be in possession of any characteristic that unfitted them for the highest plane of civilization? When they were driven from Natal, when they were driven from the Orange Free State, they took up their burden with the silent taciturnity of a hero who knew the futility of making opposition to his persecutor, and they went into the new lands with their burdens and their wrongs; and this people, the gravest charge against whom has been that they love their country, their home, their Bible and their liberty, is to-day being immolated upon the unsanctified altar of insatiable British greed, and this country—the people of this country, of the fair land of Columbia, are called up to stand stalk still and shout "Bravo" to the performance. (Great Applause.)

I realize, ladies and gentlemen that I have consumed more time than I intended. (Cries: "Go on, go on!"), but my sub-

ject forces me—(Here the audience broke out into tremendous applause and cheers.)

It must be easy to realize the difficulty of compressing into a few moments the history of a nation from its birth almost to the hour of its death; but I have shown you I think sufficient to let you know that the people of these republics have been abused and villified and libeled and slandered in the public press of two continents. Now, the ink is hardly dry upon that magnificent treaty that was the production of the Hague conference, and in the ninth clause of that treaty there is a provision made for occasions like this, in which any nation who is a party to that treaty has an absolute right, and it becomes its sacred duty, to proffer its services of mediation, not only to prevent war before it commences, but to stop war after it has commenced. (Applause.)

In the dying hours of the Nineteenth century a christian civilization is supposed to have advanced; and why, I ask, have the nations of the world stood aside without making an offer of mediation here? I can understand why European nations have not, but I fail to understand why the American republic could not have made that honorable and that charitable test. I say, fellow citizens, that I will not make the charge that it is due to the fact that the commercialism, referred to by the distinguished Executive of this State, has emasculated the virtues of the American people, because I do not believe it; nor shall I whisper it at the present time; nor shall I whisper, in fear for I hope that I may never be able to make the charge, that it may be due to the fact that perhaps the hands of others are of the color of Macbeths. (Applause.) But I say that all the instincts of humanity,

that all the teachings of Christianity and civilization, call upon the nations of the world at this hour to put forth a protecting hand to the virtuous patriot of the African veldt. The serious charge has been made against him that he has denied representation to the foreigner within his territory. Now I will devote a few moments to more of the charges. One of the charges is that the franchise or the right to vote is denied to the foreigner in the Transvaal. That statement is as easily made in the Associated Press reports as any other statements, and it is as false as the majority of the other statements. (Applause.) It was an impossibility for me to bring here this evening the statutes and the legal reports of the Transvaal Republic, but I depend upon authoritative reports more than upon those that have been seen in the Associated Press, and the truth of the matter is that any citizen of the Transvaal Republic who is willing to forswear allegiance to the land of his birth can become a citizen in that republic. (Applause.) The matter of fact is that the English resident who goes to the Transvaal refuses to forswear allegiance to her majesty. Now, I do not make it as a charge against the individual Englishman, but I do say that it is with the utmost reluctance that they ever make a declaration of citizenship in any country. (Applause.) There seems to be lurking somewhere in the heart of every Englishman, no matter how plebian may be his condition, the feeling that somewhere between the present hour and William the Conqueror his family had a close connection or relationship with a duke or an earl, (Laughter) and that if he forswore allegiance to the government of her majesty it would jeopardize his inheritance of the coronet or the crown.

Now this is the truth of the matter in the Transvaal. The English resident in the Transvaal refused to declare allegiance to the Transvaal government, and the Transvaal government says that "Although you may work here, make a living here and enjoy the emoluments of your labor, you cannot take part in the franchise because you are not a citizen." And there is not one of the forty-four states in the American Union that has not a law of the same kind. (Applause.)

The claim has been made that taxation is unequal in the Transvaal Republic—and it is unequal in the city of St. Paul. (Laughter.) Taxation in the Transvaal Republic, according to the laws of 1892, was made pro rata, according to the amount of property one owns; and if you have twenty thousand dollars worth of property and I have ten thousand dollars worth of property, you pay twice as much as I do, and that fairness cannot be said of many citizens of the American union. (Applause.)

It must be understood that the vast population of foreigners in the Transvaal are in the gold mines. They are either in the employ of or they are a portion of the syndicates and trusts that are working the inexhaustible mines of Johannesburg and elsewhere. Now these men have been paid millions and millions of dollars of dividends upon their stock. These men have made riches out of the Transvaal where they left penury and pauperism at home; and is it any wonder that if a great syndicate and its officers realize two millions of dollars of dividends that they should be compelled to pay more taxes than the farmer on the African veldt? (Applause.)

They have been charged with intoler-

ance in religion. Well, England has had a little history of intolerance (Applause), and the New England colonies of our own magnificent country had some religious intolerance, but it did not prevent those colonists from founding the most magnificent republic the world has ever seen, and becoming the finest soldiers in defence of it that the world has ever known. (Applause.) Religious intolerance is a transformation of the statement that a man is strictly religious and believes in his own religion in an orthodox way, to the exclusion of his neighbor's which is a little different. That is what it means, and it exists in every republic. And one of the blessings of a republic is that there is freedom of religion, that there are different religions, to the end that there may be, as it were, a mosaic of opinions that, joining together, make a more magnificent and sightly monument. (Applause.)

These are some of the charges that have been made against the Transvaal Republic without foundation.

The sole purpose, the sole object of this war, found its origin in the desire of Cecil Rhodes and the broken speculators and adventurers of the Kimberley diamond mines to get possession of the Transvaal, and to destroy at once the last vestige of Republican institutions in that continent. (Applause.) The presence here tonight of this magnificent audience, presided over by a gentleman who has been an attorney-general of this State, addressed by the distinguished Executive of this State and by the honorable Executive of this city, and will be ably addressed by the distinguished citizens who will speak hereafter,—I say that this audience in the capital city of the North Star State has a deeply significant meaning it should bear the news to Downing Street

and to London by the wires of tomorrow morning that the people of that magnificent territory overlooking the Father of Waters still have a love for the institutions of Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln. (Great Applause.) That we have a love for republican institutions and republics wherever they may be established and however they may be attacked. I hope that a set of resolutions will be passed here this evening that, reverberating over by the obelisks of Egypt and down by the cradle of the world in the Red Sea, will carry from the children of the land preserved by the virtues of Washington to the children of that republic presided over by Paul Kruger a cheering and an encouraging word. (Great Applause). And let us do this whatever the result may be. If our prayers and our wishes be answered or not; if the torch of liberty and republican institutions must be extinguished in the dark continent of Africa, then we can take to ourselves this consolation that the magnificent republic of the western world never added one drop to the cup of sorrow that was drained to the last dregs by the exterminated heroes of the African veldt. (Tremendous applause and cheers.)

The chairman: I now have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Lomen who will speak to you upon this subject.

ADDRESS BY MR. G. J. LOMEN.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The hour is getting late and I will not take very much of your time. You have been in South Africa so long that I presume you will be glad to get back into God's country.

It is natural on an occasion such as this

that we should think of our own Revolutionary fathers. Washington, Hamilton, Adams and Jefferson are dead, but their souls go marching on. "No age will come," said Daniel Webster in eulogizing Adams and Jefferson, "When the American Revolution will seem less than it now is." "No age will come," said he "when it will not be felt on either continent." One would have supposed that the lessons of experience, ever the best, would have been such as to have impressed upon the mind and heart of England its duty on an occasion such as was presented in the case of the Transvaal. The lessons taught by the American Revolution were such that England ought not soon to have forgotten them. The lesson as taught by the American Declaration of Independence was, among other things, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. The lessons taught by the Declaration of Independence was a fair value of the inalienable rights of man, of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration taught that to preserve these, government was instituted among men, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. The Declaration of American Independence taught that these powers should be organized in such form as to them, the people, seemed most likely to effect their safety and happiness. And it is a propos to ask here to-night, whence came these principles? My answer is that they came across the Waters in the Mayflower and the Half Moon; that they came from that land which for eleven years gave our pilgrim fathers an asylum; came from that land which had declared its own independence and sent to South Africa the Boer; came from that land which gave to the world its greatest

civilizing agent—a cheap Bible. Because it was Laurence—what's his name? (A voice: Koster) Koster—Laurence Koster, who invented the types which made the Bible cheap. Those principles came from the land which produced Grotius, who laid broad and deep the foundations of international law and the peaceful arbitration of states. Do you wonder, then, that Oom Paul—that President Kruger in his ultimatum to England proposed peaceful arbitration. The principles of the Declaration of American Independence were brought with our Pilgrim Fathers when they came from Holland, from Delft Haven, from a land where our pilgrim ancestors had learned to value toleration in matters of church. The doctrines there taught were the foundation for our own religious liberty. And that is not all. Holland, at the time of the sojourn of our American ancestors, was the most intelligent, the most liberty-loving, the most liberal nation, in Europe. Holland or the Netherlands, at that time had a system of universal education, a system that laid the foundation for our own common schools. It was from this same stock, this Holland stock, that the Boer sprang. And, ladies and gentlemen, it is these descendants of that Holland stock that the English in these latter days of the nineteenth century want to civilize! (Applause.)

We are asked if we can lend to the Boer our sympathy? It is strange that such a question should be asked of an American audience. America who herself threw off the yoke of oppression; America who in early times lent hope to bleeding Greece, to Bleeding Poland, who gave succor to Ireland, who banished

despotism from Mexico and from the fairest islands of the sea—it is strange, I say, that she should be asked whether she can give sympathy to the Boers. (Applause.)

But it is suggested, we are a heterogeneous nation. It is difficult to know just what is meant by an American citizen. Then I say ask the brother of Kosciusko whether he can sympathize. Ask of the Swede who remembers the loss of Finland, with whom do you sympathize? Ask of the German cousin or the Dutch brother of the Boer with whom do you sympathize? Ask of the Irish, the neighbor to England, with whom do you sympathize? Ask of the Norwegian, who celebrates the independence of 1814, with whom do you sympathize? Ask of all the people who have come under the influence of the Declaration of Independence with whom they sympathize, and the refrain is ever the same: "Our liberties we prize," "our rights we will maintain." The beacon light of liberty that we have erected shall throw its rays across the oceans to the oppressed of all lands. I thank you. (Applause.)

The Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The genius of Ireland has never and can never be crushed. (Applause.) The love of liberty, a brave heart, a stout arm and an eloquent tongue, ever maintain her virtues and keep in memory her illustrious past. (Applause.)

I have the pleasure of introducing now, the Hon. C. D. O'Brien, who will address you.

ADDRESS BY HON. C. D. O'BRIEN.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens: I am thankful for the pleasure and the honor of being with you this even-

ing and of saying a word or two to you in your consultations.

The American people have a custom which is as old as the republic, a custom that is only resorted to when necessity arises, when the occasion demands it. At other times we go about our usual avocations, we take our information from the newspapers and from friendly gossip, but when the instinct of the American people beholds on the horizon a cloud that in any wise or to any extent threatens this republic or human liberty, they rise in their sovereignty and assemble in their mass meetings as you are assembled here to-night; (applause) not by their representatives in legislative halls; not by their public servants in public offices, but in the mass meeting of the people, the sovereign people, sitting in their own congress, to give to their servants the ultimate orders, the wishes of the American people,—do thus because we who are your masters order you to do it. (Applause.)

And so to-night you represent the solemn magnificent sovereignty of the American people, within the lines of this community of which we are members; and you have left your business and your pleasures and your avocations, to meet together face to face, to hear, consider, consult and determine what shall be the action of the American people upon the question that is presented to you. And what is it? Never since the days of the American revolution has such a spectacle been seen: A little band of people, men, women and children, less in number than the population of this and our sister city, in far-off Africa, stand to-day, the men back to back (without word or whimper), in a circle around their women and their children (who

send up no cry), battling for their lives because they choose to love their God and the liberty that He gave them. (Applause.) It is not for idle pastime that the God who created us permits such spectacles to occur; it is not for us to pass by in indifference; because the least of His children is dear to Him. He that notes the fall of the sparrow remembers the human soul and the body in which during life it is encased. And so almighty God on this occasion has His purpose in calling the attention of the American people to the tragedy which is going on across the ocean, down deep in the dark continent that has been spoken of. And if you will consider for just one moment you will see the similarity between the cause of the contest now taking place, and that love of freedom which ennobled the fathers in their war of 1776. When the continent of America was discovered, the nations of Europe stood back. It was a savage land, inhabited by savage beasts and still more savage men, and the immigration to it was merely of the adventurer or the sailor who sought its shores, or those who were oppressed in their own country. And Henry Hudson, the Hollander, sailed up the river that bears his name, and the colony of New Amsterdam was settled in New York by the ancestors of the people who are fighting and dying to-day in the Transvaal. (Applause.) What next? From out the shores of England came the bond slave who was deported, and those free men who found life intolerable under her government, and they came out and settled along the shores of Massachusetts and the East. And then the nations of the earth looked on and saw the land was good, and the French reached out and

set their feet on Canada, and later and lagging came the stately Spain and siezed on Florida, and it seemed to the nations and the monarchies of earth that perhaps the American continent would fill full their coffers and give them yet additional people to serve them. And so in a European war England wrested the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam from its founders, and then she set up discussion between the New England colonies and their Canadian neighbors, and with the help of those colonists she wrested from France the right to settle in Canada. And when all foreign powers were gone from this continent and England was supreme, she started in upon her own colonists and attempted to grind them and tax them to death and deprive them of their liberty. But God, God whose oldest daughter, Liberty, was among them, had been teaching those men in the interval, and a few of them gathered together, and they wrote that gospel of human liberty, the Declaration of Independence of the United States. (Applause.) "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born free and equal." That sentence has been from that time the inspiration of the country which has grown to the magnificence of which we know. Under it the rights of man have been settled. Under it the humblest citizen is the equal of the highest. Under it the people are the masters and their officers are their servants. And under it the grandson of an Irish immigrant sits to-day in the executive chair of this republic. (Applause.)

A voice: I guess they've got him hypnotized. (Laughter.)

Mr. O'Brien: Well, then it is for the people to wake him up.

Now comes the similarity. Cape Colony was settled by these same Dutch, these burghers. The history of the other colonizations of the world and the other nations has gone on. It is only within a few short years that they have learned that Africa has become habitable, and to-day upon those plains, against the republic that has sprung up, these same practices are being carried on that were tried and failed in 1776. And why did they fail in 1776? Because in the settlement of this country, because in the conquering of the forests, and in the ploughing of the prairie, in the earning of their bread by the sweat of their brow, in the name of liberty and under the eye of the Almighty, the American farmer and the American citizen, and the American shepherd, and the American rancher, learned to shoot; and so did the burgher in South Africa. (Applause.) I tell you, my friends, the contest is not between the English people and the Boers. God knows that I do not hate them. I hate no man. But I hate, and I should be false to my race and to my blood, if I did not hate with a bitterness beyond expression, the English government and the English aristocracy that never allows a man justice, liberty and right. (Applause.) And no American citizen will believe in a system which says that the man who is born here is of one class and the man who is born there is of another; of a system which says that the blood that runs in one man's veins is blue and that which runs in another man's veins is red. That the bone and the sinew and the muscle are of fine fibre in the aristocrat, while in the common man they are coarse. And neither leprosy, or illegitimacy, nor their children's disease the king's

evil, can change it in their mind!
(Applause and laughter.)

The English people—what have they to do with this or any other act of their government? How much had the English people to do with placing on their throne, for the admiration of their aristocracy, the eighteen-year-old girl who became their queen? How much have they to say to-day as to who her successor shall be, or his successor, or anything else? It is the same old struggle, the same old struggle, between republicanism, freedom, and aristocracy, that is being fought out in Africa, with the expectation that if it is successful there our liberties may also be sapped, not with the rifle and with the cannon, but with the insidious means that are being used every day.

Who says we shall not express ourselves? Who gives us orders? What is the rule? Who is the sovereign in the United States? Is it not the citizen? What are our representatives, whether in the executive or legislative place? They are our servants, employed by us, paid by us, and holding their positions upon the one condition that they shall be true to the people and to the constitution that permits them to serve. (Applause.) And to whom shall they answer? They shall answer to us and to no one else, and they shall know the voice of their masters or else they shall not be fit to serve.

It is late. I will not detain you long. There are others, better able than myself to speak to you. I trust men who thought to-night that they would hear me use abuse of England or the English people will not be disappointed because I seek within my poor efforts to rise to the level of a meeting of the

sovereign citizens of the United States.

It has been said of those people that they did not give the religion that I believe, fair sway among them. Why, what is that to us? A man's religion is between him and his God, and he who claims the right to worship according to his own conscience concerns himself not with the views of other men; if he may pray, let other men do as they will. (Applause.)

There are some things that I believe as I believe in my God, my religion, and my republic. And this I do believe: that when from the South African battlefields the immortal soul of some burgher, whose body lies gashed and shattered by a lyddite shell or a dum-dum bullet, flies up to the chancel of heaven, there to be judged by the Almighty God, who will judge us all, that soul will have the right to summon witnesses; and whom will they summon? Who will step out to testify upon the judgment as to that burgher's soul? I see the list. They come headed by George Washington, Jefferson, Adams, the fathers of the American republic. And behind them come the men who died for liberty at Lexington, at Concord, at Yorktown, and at Bunker Hill. And again behind them come others—Jackson and the brown riflemen who stood for liberty behind the cotton bales at New Orleans, when three thousand of them drove back eleven thousand of the English and saved this republic again. (Applause.) And with them come the other veterans of the war of 1812. And still behind them come the men who died for freedom in the war of 1865, and the men who led them—Grant, Sherman and Sheridan—marching behind, and there is that magnificent martyr of human liberty who stands by the side of

God upon this question—Abraham Lincoln. (Great applause.) And behind them are all the men who died for liberty in 1865. And we, too, my friends, we, too, my fellow citizens, are represented; for in that immortal throng of witnesses also stand the recent dead, the boys who gave their lives at liberty's call to free the mixed races of Cuba—they, too, are there to testify for the burgher. (Applause.) And when the great Master and the great Judge shall ask of these witnesses, "What have you to say as to this human soul whose body lies in the African dust, what have you to say?" The answer will come, our God, our Lord, our Judge, the body of this man who is dead, his body died and died for liberty. And then will come the judgment that none but those deserve, "Well done, well done, thou good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful in all things, enter into the joy of the blessed reserved for thee." That is my belief of the burgher judgment and the burgher soul. If I were fit to pray, if I were fit to reach the canopies of heaven and reach the chancel of heaven with prayer, I would pray again to God, God who made me and whom I seek to reverence, and ask him to stand for, to defend, to protect and to make victorious, the men who are dying to-day in Africa, without murmur, without a word, because, thank God, they love liberty better than they do their lives. (Great applause.)

The Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The executive committee having in charge the arrangements for the evening thought it proper to submit for the consideration of this meeting some resolutions. They are very brief,

and I trust the audience will remain while they are read.

The chairman then read the resolutions as follows:

"It appears that the British government claims to be justified in waging war upon the Boer republics, mainly because they do not allow that right of franchise which is insisted upon by the English government, and also because they impose an unjust tax upon the exports of the mines. It should be borne in mind that the Boer republic only imposes a license of five per cent upon the net output of the mines, while the Dominion to the north of us, British Columbia, imposes a license of ten per cent. In answer to the claim that the Boers do not grant the franchise to aliens, it must be remembered that before the Salisbury government declared war upon the Boers, the Boers reduced the residence limit of foreigners to five years. They made this concession to avoid war with a great and seemingly irresistible power. This is the limit fixed in the United States. And while it is true that no foreigner can be elected to the upper house of the legislature, it must be borne in mind that no foreigner, except by special dispensation of the government, is eligible to the upper branch of the English legislative body. No civilized nation does nor can permit a foreign nation to dictate the terms of its naturalization laws. It appearing that the war waged by the Salisbury government against the Boer republics is wholly unjustified, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the citizens of St. Paul here assembled in mass meeting, and representing all creeds, races, and political beliefs, declare that when

Chamberlain stated that the American people were in sympathy with his effort to crush out the Boer republics, he not only misjudged the character of the American people, but forgot that the Boers are only repeating the struggle we made more than a century ago, except that we then revolted against the British crown, while the Boers are struggling to maintain a government which has been twice recognized by the English government in treaty conventions. We therefore, most emphatically refute the base insinuation that the American people sympathize in the effort of the English government, represented by the Salisbury ministry, to overthrow and crush out a sister republic. It is further

Resolved, That we unhesitatingly declare that it is our earnest hope that in this struggle the Boers will be able to maintain their national existence and retain their national independence. It is further

Resolved, That in view of the growing sentiment among civilized nations to submit matters of difference to arbitration, if there was any real difference between the English government and the Boer republics it is greatly to be regretted that such difference was not submitted to arbitration in accordance with the earnest wish of the Boer republics, made before resorting to arms, especially in view of the great disparity in the power and strength of the two nations. It is further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to our senators and representatives."

Mr. C. D. O'Brien: Mr. Chairman, I move that these resolutions be adopted by a rising vote.

The Chairman: It is moved that these resolutions be adopted by a ris-

ing vote. All in favor of the resolutions will arise.

The audience arose and gave three cheers and a tiger.



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